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ABSTRACT

Studies of teaching materials have shown that the American Indian has not been given fair representation in American history. Too often portrayed as inaccurate are such subjects as tribal entities and cultures, listings of current tribes and reservations, descriptions of languages and areas of occupation, foods, attire, and dates of historical importance. The problem is that the novels of the past as well as the history books have made use of erroneous stereotypes of the Indian. The Indian in most of the literature even to the present time is shown not so much as he is in reality, but as he is in the minds of his white conquerors, who read into him the character traits they wish to find. In a study of the American Indian in adolescent literature since 1930, it was determined that the novels for the most part continued the traditional dual and contradictory image of the Indian: the dirty, drunken, cruel, and warring savage and the glorified, noble, but naive native--both of which are stereotypes. The time has come for writers and publishers to work to dispel the stereotypes and generalizations about the American Indian and accurately describe their cultures. (HOD)

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THE STEREOTYPE OF THE INDIAN IN ADOLESCENT LITERATURE

Anne Troy

The social and economic integration of the Indian has been a slow process since the first colonists took land from the native Americans. Because of the differences in racial, religious, and other ethnic characteristics, Indians have been largely excluded from the mainstream of dominant culture in the United States.

Today's young people have been made aware of the racial confrontations of the day through the mass media. Most of these civil disorderes have focused attention on the black minority segment of America, but recently Indians, too, have called attention to their problems by the Wounded Knee confrontation, the protest of pollution by electric companies on Southwest reservations, and the violation of their hunting and fishing rights in the Northwest. On various campuses Indian students are organizing groups so that they may obtain some of the benefits that black students enjoy. Indians hope that through mass media coverage of articulate Indian groups, the problems of Indians may be recognized by America's conscience.

Investigation of adolescent novels is timely in view of Indian demands that he be presented accurately in novels, textbooks, films, and television. Because of the demands of box

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office and financial interests, the mass communication media are reluctant to emphasize the less vivid and more realistic aspects of Indian patterns of life, both past and present. At best, many of these vivid bloodthirsty portrayals of past incidents could be described as highly imaginative; for others misleading would be a more appropriate description. Such accounts, often unauthentic and historically inaccurate, tend to reflect popular misconceptions and prejudices.

Indian leaders today are asking for not only a more accurate historical portrayal of their people in literature but also a delineation of the modern Indian, his world and his problems. Powerful Indian groups are attempting to usher in a new economic, political, and social era for their people, who in the twentieth century face problems of Indian identity. It has been the hope of Indian leaders that their people and their problems will be considered in contemporary literature in such ways as to avoid the former image or the stereotype of the savage red man.

Social scientists generally agree that there are no inherent cultural predispositions or traits among people of different races or geographical area, but that man is a product of his cultural environment. Children learn prejudice against, and intolerance of, people who are racially, religiously, and culturally different from themselves. In turn, the objects of prejudice internalize

the self-debasing concepts that are held up to them by the mirror of the majority. The source of these learnings can be traced to parents and other adults, peers, mass and minor media, and teaching materials. The American public school functioning as a social sorting and screening device with Protestant, white, middle class bias, has not always facilitated integration of the minority American into the mainstream of dominant culture, nor has it encouraged it through its academic portrayal of minority Americans.

The U. S. Senate Special Subcommittee on Indian Education report of 1969, Indian Education: A National Tragedy---A National Challenge, contains a powerful summation of why positive images of the Indian are important. The report, in part, says:

> To thousands of Americans, the American Indian is, and always will be dirty, lazy, and drunk. That's the way they picture him, that's the way they treat him. . . The basis for these stereotypes goes back into history---a history created by the white man to justify his exploitation of the Indian, a history the Indian is continually reminded of at school, on television, in books and at the movies.
>
> It is this kind of history--the kind taught formally in the classroom--which creates feelings of inferiority among Indian students, gives them a warped understanding of their cultural heritage and propagates stereotypes. (63, p.22)
>
> The manner in which Indians are treated in textbooks--one of the most powerful means by which our society transmits ideas from generation to generation--typifies the misunderstanding the American public as a whole has regarding the Indian, and indicates how misconceptions can become a part of a person's mind-set. After examining more than a hundred history texts, one historian concluded that the American Indian has been obliterated, defamed, disparaged, and disembodied. . . (63, p. 23)
>
> With attitudes toward Indians being shaped, often unconsciously, by educational materials filled with inaccurate stereotypes--as well as by teachers whose own education has

contained those same stereotypes and historical misconceptions--it is easy to see how the "lazy, dirty, drunken" Indian becomes the symbol for all Indians. (63, p. 24)

Studies of teaching materials have shown that the Indian has not been given fair representation in American history. In Textbooks and the American Indian, a 1970 publication of the American Indian Historical Society, the authors state:

> Such subjects as tribal entities and cultures, listings of current tribes and reservations, description of languages and areas of occupation, foods, attire, dates of historical importance are too often inaccurate. In place of facts, generalizations are given. Such generalizations result in stereotypes, one of the most insidious and vicious forms of racial prejudice. (33, p. 16)

The general criteria set up for the evaluation of the textbooks consisted of the following nine questions:

1. Is the history of the American Indian presented as an integral part of the history of America at every point of this nation's development?
2. Does the text explain that the first discoverers of America were those native peoples whom Columbus described improperly as "Indians?"
3. Is the data contained in the text accurate?
4. Does the textbook faithfully describe the culture and lifeways of the American Indian at that time in history when the Europeans first came in contact with him?
5. Is the culture of the Indian described as a dynamic process, so that his social system and life ways are seen as a developmental process, rather than a static one?
6. Are the contributions of the Indians to the nation and the world described?
7. Does the textbook accurately describe the special position of the American Indian in the history of the United States of America--socially, economically, and politically?
8. Does the textbook describe the religions, philosophies, and contributions to thought of the American Indian?
9. Does the textbook adequately and accurately describe the life and situation of the American Indian in the world of today? (33, pp. 14-23)

The study of the Indian in adolescent fiction attempted to determine what stereotype of the Indian, if any, exists in the 1930 novels and if this same stereotype is found in the 1960 novels. A preliminary survey showed that it would be impossible to examine all the published books concerned with American Indians and that restriction of scope and treatment would be necessary in order to reduce the investigation to manageable proportions. A sample of books written between 1930 and 1940 is compared to a sample of books written between 1960 and 1970. The population of the study was defined as all novels written in the above time period in which an Indian from a tribe of the United States or Canada is a major character. Books chosen for the investigation were those in which the Indian theme was dominant or received sufficient emphasis to make evaluation worthwhile.

Various booklists, primarily from the NCTE, ALA, Booklist, and Wilson Catalog were examined. The intent was to prepare a master list of titles of appropriate novels recommended by these sources for the adolescent reader.

In the late 1960's anthropologists and sociologists as well as critics of social study books and the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs began to discuss the image of the Indian.

Alvin M. Josephy, Jr. states in his book The Indian Heritage of America:

> More common among most whites are the false understandings and images which they retain about Indians. For many, the moving pictures, television and comic strips have firmly established a stereotype as the true portrait of all Indians:

the dour, stoic, war-bonnetted Plains Indian. He is a warrior, he has no humor unless it is that of an incongruous and farcial type, and his language is full of "hows," "ughs," and words that end in "um." Only rarely in the popular media of communications is it hinted that Indians, too, were and are, all kinds of real living persons like any others and that they included peace loving wise men, mothers who cried for the safety of their children, young men who sang songs of love and courted maidens, dullards, statesmen, cowards, and patriots. Today there are college-trained Indians, researchers, business and professional men and women, jurists, ranchers, teachers, and political office holders. Yet so enduring is the stereotype that many a non-Indian, especially if he lives in an area where Indians are not commonly seen, expects any American Indian he meets to wear a feathered headdress. When he sees the Indian in a conventional business suit instead, he is disappointed. (38, p. 8)

Criticism of the presentation of the Indian in literature is not limited to the twentieth century. It is amusing and appropriate to read the angry criticism of Edwin T. Denig, an early nineteenth century fur trader:

> It would be well for the public if everyone who undertook to write a book was thoroughly acquainted with the subject of which he treats. . .This is particularly the case in most of the works purporting to describe the actual life and intellectual capacity of the Indians of North America; much evil has been the consequence of error thus introduced, bad feelings engendered, and unwise legislation enforced which will continue until our rulers are enlightened as to the real state of their Government, character, organization, manners and customs, and social position. . .a hastily collected and ill-digested mass of information form the basis of works by which the public is deceived as to the real state of Indians. Even foreigners who have possibly passed a winter at some of the trading posts in the country, seen an Indian dance or two or a buffalo chase, return home, enlighten Europe if not America with regard to the Indian character; which is only the product of their own brains and takes its

> color from the peculiar nature of that organ. Hence we find two sets of writers both equally wrong, one setting forth the Indians as a noble, generous, and chivalrous race far above the standard of Europeans, the other representing them below the level of brute creation. (18, p. xxx)

The crystalization of the white man's popular conception of the Indian into unrealistic or unjust images was based on the early works of supposed fact and/or fiction concerning the Indians. The image of the Indian in literature gradually took shape in two quite distinct and almost opposite directions--the natural man related to Rousseau's philosophy and the depraved savage who needed the help of civilized men.

Ellul has stated that there are basic reasons for the development and the use of the sterectype in the book, Propaganda: The Formulation of Men's Attitudes. Ellul defines the stereotype as a "seeming value judgment, acquired by belonging to a group, without any intellectual labor and reproducing itself automatically with each specific stimulation." (24, p. 163)

A stereotype is a picture in the mind, generally over-simplified and frequently distorted by the individual's experience and the norms of his culture. No two people have identical experiences in a lifetime, and therefore, it may be assumed that no two people have exactly the same stereotype. Any culture, however, produces general stereotypes that have some uniform and conspicuous feature. The culture determines some stereotypes

by guiding the individual in what to look for and what to regard as exceptional. A stream of symbols, verbal and pictorial, influences the individual by presenting frequently, and in a segmented way, a stereotyped conception. His everyday contact with other people, who have already developed a similar stereotype, also reinforces the mental picture. For instance, a person who has never seen an Indian would, if he lived in our culture, have a pictorial conception of an Indian's looks and acts based on a stereotype presented to him through the multimedia. However, upon actually seeing an Indian for the first time, the individual may react in one of two ways. The individual's belief in his stereotype may become more rigid and stable if the Indian fitted his stereotyped conception. The individual might refuse to alter his stereotype regardless of the circumstances. If, however, he were more flexible in his thought processes, he would modify his original stereotype to allow for a clear interpretation of his actual experience (45, p. 100). Thus an individual has the option to accept or reject the actual experience in favor of the mental picture of the culture.

The role of the stereotypes seems to differ in simple and complex cultures. The well-defined stereotype is not clearly developed in simple societies. In a simple society the ingroup feeling is strongly developed, and because of this, individuals are recognized as separate personalities and are not grouped

into stereotyped categories. In one's own ingroup, there is little attempt at stereotyping, and in dealing with such individuals sincere attempts are made towards individual understanding (45, p. 88). These people are recognized as persons rather than types, and generally no attempt at shortcutting is made in understanding their separate personalities.

There are indications that cultural stereotypes are relatively constant even though individual experiences are in many cases frequently bringing to light contradictions seemingly calling for modifications. The stereotype simplifies life in this complex and unstable world because it enables the individual to fit newly acquired experiences into the well-known categories.

The gap between popular conceptions and objective reality widens as society grows more complex. However, as this happens, society's demand for simplicity persists. Complex societies continue to "cherish the simple definition, the summarized conception, the simple melodrama of human relation" (2,p. 57). As compared with life in a simple society, in a complex society life is usually less personal in daily contact between individuals, and because of this, one's ingroup relations are limited to but a small segment of such a society. A need for simple classification of out-group individuals arises, in order that one can more readily understand

his position in dealing with the out-group (45, p. 89). Thus the people whom the individual does not associate with his ingroup are apt to become stereotyped by him. We do not see first and then define. Instead we define first and then see. We encounter items that our culture has already defined for us and then we tend to perceive these items in terms of stereotypes already in our mind. In relation to our ingroup, we tend toward individualized perception of our family, friends, and acquaintances as persons rather than types (45, pp. 81-89). However, when we deal with those who are not a part of our ingroup, we tend to classify them in a stereotyped fashion. A person in this respect is likely to be classified and pigeonholed in order that we may know how to deal with his personality and what to expect from it (45, p. 89). Even though the person in question may have characteristics entirely different from those of the stereotype, this person may remain stereotyped in the mind of the classifier for a considerable time until the weight of contradictory information grows too great. If this occurs it will usually not be the stereotype itself that is altered or discarded, but the classified individual will be reclassified or considered an exception.

Because we depend so much on stereotypes in our complex society it is important to note the reasons for the unreliability and erroneousness of certain stereotypes. William E. Mosher

lists four probably causes for the development of false stereotypes: the uncritical acceptance of an attitude towards a class of things; uncritical classification; uncritical observation and uncritical description; and emotional attachment to attitudes (50, p. 330).

Another aspect of this deliberate use of the erroneous stereotypes may be seen in the influence of war propaganda on public opinion in the various white-Indian conflicts. War propagandists of all times have influenced public opinion by stressing stereotypes that give the enemy undesirable attributes (31, p. 353). This is usually done by stressing the negative values associated with old stereotypes concerning the enemy or by creating new stereotypes that show the enemy in a detrimental light (24, pp. 162-167). In wartime the stereotype of the enemy is always violent and distorted, usually fed with "examples" of beast-like deeds and atrocities (54, p. 88). In our discussion of the various novels the number of comparisons of the Indian to various animals and the description of purported atrocities is noted.

Walter Lippmann sees the stereotype as a way of defending our position in society. The stereotype to Lippmann, a critic of public opinion, is a "more or less consistent picture of the world to which our habits, our tastes, our capacities, our comforts and our hopes have adjusted themselves" (45, p. 95).

Lippmann states that "stereotypes are highly charged with the feelings that are attached to them . . .and. . .are fortresses behind which we can continue to feel ourselves safe in the position we occupy" (45, p. 95). Lippmann is applying a psychological term to his field of study, and the application he makes is closely related to the way the term stereotype is used in reference to literature.

In psychology the stereotype construct has a psycho-economic function. It is developed "in order to relieve and reduce some of the tensions which threaten to tear the personality structure asunder by providing objects and channels through which emotions can find release" (30, p. 20). The fact that the stereotype develops because of a psychological need, and acts as a cornerstone in an unstable psychological system is the reason that the stereotype is so carefully guarded against change. Any disruption of the concept of the stereotype threatens the person who depends on it. Again within the field of psychology, the stereotype is defined as "an analgesic devised by the mind to protect itself against anxiety, that is pain" (30, p. 95). However, pain in the biological or psychological sense serves as a useful danger signal which informs the organism of disharmony.

Examples of erroneous stereotypes may be found which tend

to block full equality among individuals in any community. One of my hypotheses is that the novels of the past as well as the history books have made use of erroneous sterotypes of the Indian. Deloria states that "the American public feels most comfortable with the mythical Indians of stereotype-land who were always there" (17, p. 2). Deloria continues:

> Both whites and Indians were buried under the weight of popular pseudo-history in which good guys dominated the scene and tribes were indiscriminately scattered throughout the West in an effort to liven up the story. Contemporary problems were brushed aside in favor of the convenient and comfortable pigeonhole into which Indians had been placed. (17, p. 200)

In 1949 the American Council on Education made the following observations concerning the Indian:

> Only two major attitudes governed the treatment of American Indians. The first was that of cruel, bloodthirsty Indians whose rights were unquestionably superseded by the interests of white pioneers. The second was that of the noble redskin, a high-minded son of nature. Almost without exception, no convincing picture of Indians as a group, or of the cultural characteristics of Indian life, past or present, was presented. (39, p. 112)

The stereotype of literature is defined as kind of character repeated or reproduced without variation in certain forms of literature. The stereotypes of literature conform to fixed or general patterns undistinguished by individual marks. They are, as it were, characters already defined by our culture

for us. For this reason the stereotype may be called flat. A social or economic class, virtue, a temperament, or an outlook may be represented by the stereotype (22, p. 17). The characteristics of the stereotype are highly selected, predictable, and consistent. The flat character is not torn by inner conflict and, therefore, is not likely to change. Flat characters usually are pictured in black and white, or in this case in red or white, that is, as all evil, or as all good, or outside the question of good and bad (22, p. 19).

Authors of supposed factual materials as well as fiction were not thoroughly acquainted with the subjects that they were writing about (18, p. xxx). Even though this has been the case, the American Indian has occupied a prominent place in literature. From the time of the earliest explorers the Indians were a great attraction. The image of the Indian in literature gradually took shape in two quite distinct and almost opposite directions. The Indian captured the imagination and admiration of the early explorers and settlers but at the same time was an obstacle to be overcome. The courage, gentleness, timidity and generosity of the native Americans impressed the early explorers. Many of the earliest settlers saw the Indian as a symbol of the nobility man might achieve by living humbly in harmony with nature--a rugged individualistic ideal that later European culture was to produce

for itself on this continent in the figures of such people as Daniel Boone and the fictional Leatherstocking (59, pp. 3-6).

The ititial novelty of the Indian did not last long, for the Europeans began studying and writing about the Indians for their own ends and for the purpose of converting the Indian to Christianity (5, p. 29). The Indian in most of the literature even to the present time is shown not so much as he was in reality, but as he was in the minds of his white conquerors, who read into him the character traits they wished to find, the traits that most suited them in their often dishonorable dealings with the Red Man (59, p. 4). History shows that the Indian was exploited, despoiled, and often exterminated so that white settlements could push on farther into the new country. Quinn sees much of the early literature concerning the Indian as a justification on the part of writers to justify the taking of lands and property of the red man. This literature flourished, for it was effective, if inaccurate, support for the events that took place (55, p. 133).

Captain John Smith, one of the earliest writers about Indians, demonstrated a mistaken and bigoted assurance that he was well qualified to judge and describe the Indian. In 1612 Captain Smith listed the outstanding traits of Indians:

> They are inconstant in everything, but what fear constraineth them to keep. Crafty, timorous, quick of apprehension and very ingenious, some are of disposition fearful, some bold, most cautious, all savage. . .they are soon moved to anger, and so malicious that they seldom

> steal from one another, lest their conjurors should reveal it, and so they be pursued and punished. (32, p. 18)

Alexander Whitaker published Good News from Virginia in 1613. He wanted to arouse interest in the colonies among the English public. He presented a picture of the depraved savage who needed the help of civilized men:

> Let the miserable condition of these naked slaves of the devil move you to compassion toward them. They acknowledge that there is a great God, but know him not, wherefore they serve the devil for fear, after a most base manner. . .They live naked of body, as if the shame of their sin deserved no covering. . .They esteem it a virtue to lie, deceive, and steal. . .if this be their life, what think you shall become of them after death, but to be partakers with the devil and his angels in hell for evermore? (64, pp. 41-42)

Of Plymouth Plantation by William Bradford traces the Indian-white relations in the period 1620-1647. The accounts of Bradford detail the righteous indignation of the Puritans aimed at the Indians who were fighting ferociously to preserve their lands and lives. Bradford tells of the atrocities and depravations of the Indians at the hands of the Puritans as well as the sufferings of the white men. Bradford also shows the overwhelming attitude of the times in his stern denunciation of Thomas Morton who had praised and admired the way of life of the Indians with whom he had worked (10, pp. 204-210).

The colonial settlers' treatment of the Indians might not have been as atrocious as it was if books of the period

had painted a more positive image of the Indian. Books painted the Indian as heathen devils who tempted Christians to outdo them in savagery in their retaliation (55, p. 77).

A major group of writings about Indian troubles, particularly the captivities, grew up. These stories, part fact and much fiction, served a dual role for the settlers and the people in England, first as popular advanture stories, and secondly as anti-Indian propaganda when it was felt that the savages must be crushed. In general the content of these narratives of the seventeenth century were similar: sudden attacks on cabins and the burnings of settlements, the scalping of men and women and the killing of children, horrible tortures of the white captives carried away alive and terrible sufferings as they were taken by the Indians from one camp to another, sometimes starving, often beaten, and even sometimes supposedly eaten (35, pp. 510-511).

The public enjoyed these horror tales and soon hack writers began writing these narratives. They found that the more gory the accounts of the Indians and their treatment of captives, the better the public received them. The imitators of captivity narratives did their best to outdo one another regarding the false and misleading generalities and horrors in their tales (13, pp. 169-180). The captivity narrative

develops the Indian in literature as a propaganda device to support the idea that it was right and proper to dispossess and even exterminate him at will.

Another form of anti-Indian literature emerged in the form of histories of the Indian Wars after the resolution (mainly by extermination) of the Indian problem in New England. These books were written to exploit the popular taste for bloody stories about the defeat of the savages by the noble white men. The readers wanted to be thrilled, disgusted and awed by these histories and probably did not consider the apparent inaccuracies and one-sidedness of their content.

In a brief survey of the Indian in American literature one is struck by the number and diversity of attempts to portray the Indian. The interest and fascination with the subject of the Indian is attested to by the hundreds of works written since John Smith's 1612 account. The conflict between the early settlers and the Indians in imaginative literature as well as in history is grim and forbidding. The colonial expression "the only good Indian is a dead Indian" was a universal border sentiment which was reflected in the anti-Indian literature. When the border atrocities began to fade from the public mind during the early nineteenth century, there was a certain wistful regret over the

Indians forced retreat from the eastern part of the United States and the apparent injustices of his treatment. Following the Civil War settlers pushed West across the Mississippi River and once more the pattern of forced retreat and conflict, and thus injustice, was repeated. There is some twentieth century emphasis upon specific tribes of Indians with modern day problems but the number of novels of this type are few in comparison to the many novels with earlier time settings.

In the twentieth century the good-bad stereotypes are particularly prevalent in the cheap literature, the soap operas, the cowboy-Indian movies, and the gangster television programs. Where the stereotype forms the basis for the story as a leading character, the flatness serves to draw the reader's or listener's attention to the narrative values of plot and idea. A stereotype may be useful or misleading and dangerous, depending on its correspondence to reality. An understanding of the development of stereotypes and the role which they play in society and in literature forms a necessary background for the analysis of the stereotypes of the American Indian in adolescent fiction.

The stereotype acts as a sort of refracting medium which produces a particular type of impression. When a stimulus, such as the stereotype is presented, it always elicits a certain response. Particular qualities in the flat, stereotyped characters are used

to achieve particular ends. The function of the stereotypes are: to mark a type of behavior or character as good or bad; to act as an evaluation of other characters' actions; or to turn attention to some value or idea.

The criteria of the textbook study are not those applied to the study of the Indian in adolescent fiction, but the criteria and the conclusions of the Indian Historical Society demonstrate that the inaccuracies, the false understandings and images about Indians are found not only in fiction but in the factual presentation of textbooks. The conclusions reached by the textbook study are related to the types of information collected in the study of fiction read by adolescents.

The following books were used in the study of the 1930 novels:

Waterless Mountain---Laura Adams Armer
Indian Brother---Hubert V. Coryell
Queer Person---Ralph Hubbard
Painted Arrow---Frances Gaither
Three Sides of Agiochook---Eric P. Kelly
Tangled Waters---Florence C. Means
Drums in the Forest---Allan Dwight
Sword of the Wilderness---Elizabeth Coatsworth
Drums Along the Mohawk---Walter D. Edmonds

The 1960 books used for the study were:

Johnny Osage---Janice H. Giles
Island of the Blue Dolphins---Scott O'Dell
Valiant Captive---Erick Berry
When the Legends Die---Hal Borland

The Story Catcher---Mari Sandoz
Massacre at Sand Creek---Irving Werstein
Captives of the Senecas---John Brick
Komantcia---Harold Keith
Crimson Moccasins---Wayne D. Doughty
The Sparrow's Fall---Fred Bodsworth
Edge of Two Worlds---Weyman Jones
The Wrath of Covote---Jean Montgomery
Our Cup Is Broken---Florence C. Means

Incidentally the study showed a time gap between publication and the appearance of the title on the lists. Therefore, it may be noted that some of the popular books written during the 1960's will not appear on the list.

The problem of this investigation consists of an analysis of the amount and quality of information about American Indians that might be gained by adolescents reading the books, the attitudes which they might develop toward American Indians, and the level of understanding about Indian life which they might reach. The data on Indian characterization was secured for several major areas: setting, tribe, economy, physical appearance, dress, housing, customs, religion and savagery. Variations in the amount of information was considered in terms of the author's purpose. Did the author set out to teach Indian ways of doing and thinking through the context of the story as supplementary social studies? Some of the books show this purpose. Others were intended as good adventure stories or were centered in the development of one character.

A summary of the data of this study shows the following conclusions:

1. The 1960 books present Indian life of the past as frequently as do the 1930 books.

2. The time settings played an important part in the determination of geographical settings. The 1930 novels for the most part had geographical settings in the Northeast whereas the majority of the 1960 novels had settings west of the Mississippi River.

3. The tribes which are written about most frequently have been presented at a certain time and there seems to be a possible correlation between the specific group and the time period in which it is most often presented.

4. The point of view or the writer's distance shows a change in writer's technique in the 1960 books as contrasted to the 1930 books. In six of the thirteen 1960 novels as opposed to three of the nine 1930 books the actions of the story is presented from the Indian point of view.

5. The majority of the 1960 as well as the 1930 novels present the Indians in dress and body decoration other than that of contemporary Indians because of the time settings of the novels. The types of dwellings and weapons used also show the Indian of an earlier time period.

6. The Indian economy described in nineteen of the twenty-two novels was basically hunting and fishing, another indication that the Indian of the general stereotype derives from an earlier period.

7. The authors of the 1960 novels do not seem to depend as much on characterization by externals. However, Indians are still described as dirty or smelling in five of the thirteen 1960 novels as opposed to five of the nine 1930 novels.

8. The speech patterns of the Indians in the 1960 novels avoid the use of broken English frequently used to characterize Indians in some of the 1930 novels.

9. The half-breed characters of the 1960 novels, unlike the characters in the 1930 books, are not necessarily good men or better than other Indians.

10. Female characters are not as important as males in the majority of the novels of both the 1930 and the 1960 books.

11. The majority of the novels provide a considerable amount of information about Indian religious beliefs.

12. There are few references to the Indian attitudes about the white man's schools.

13. The tabulated nonmaterial character traits of the Indians in the 1930 and the 1960 novels showed that Indians were

depicted as good men as well as superstitious drunkards, gamblers, and gluttons. The 1960 novels showed a more believable type of character, that is, a more fully developed three-dimensional type, who in most cases were not entirely bad or too saintly.

14. If an adolescnet were exposed to all the books of the study, his concepts of Indians would range from picturing them as fierce, treacherous, murderous, stealthy, dishonest, barbaric savages to thinking of them as peace loving, noble, virtuous, kind, patient, and long-suffering men and women.

The adolescent who reads all of the books of the study would be acquainted with the way of life of many different Indian tribes from 1600 to the contemporary period. The reader might compare and contrast the patterns of Indian life represented and from this experience he might formulate the concept that each Indian tribe had its own unique way of life. The reader would realize that the coming of the white men seriously disrupted the life patterns of Indian groups. He would, hopefully, understand that since the coming of the white men, the Indians have had to make many difficulty adjustment. He might not realize that a large number of the Indians were never given an opportunity to make the adjustments, but were exterminated. The reader would be relatively unexposed to the many problems in contemporary Indian life.

The books (with only one exception, e.g., Painted Arrow) do establish the identity of the Indian groups and the time setting. But the emphasis on time settings outside the contemporary period may lead to two misconceptions: the greater number of Indians today live as they have always lived; all Indians are very different from whites. If an adolescent's reading were limited to the books published in the 1930's, he would be less apt to receive objective presentations of the actions as Indian characters in the story might see it. The viewpoint of the 1930 books is more apt to be that of a white subjective view, that is, the Indians are presented by the narrator and/or white characters as savages or saints.

Few of the Indian groups are represented in more than one time period. For example in the 1930's, the Navaho Indians are represented in two novels of that period. The many tribes of the Northeast represented in the 1930 novels in time settings 1600-1800 are not portrayed before the coming of the white men nor in the period of their extermination or removal or in a contemporary setting. The tribes which are written about most frequently have been presented at a certain time and there seems to be a possible correlation between the specific group and the time period in which it is most often presented.

The culture of the Indians and their relationships with whites have changed considerably since the period from which the present general stereotype is derived. A great deal of emphasis has been placed in this study on the time and geographical setting of the novels. Even the history textbooks portray the defeat and the acculturation forced upon the majority of American Indians. The culture of the many Indian tribes was largely lost under the impact of Western civilization. The old modes of Indian life were necessarily changed when the Indians were removed to reservations. Those who had a nomadic economy were forced to alter or abandon it. The white man's clothing largely replaced native dress once it was impossible to get skins for clothing. The headdress, except for ceremonies, was abandoned. The dwelling types were replaced by more permanent structures of the white community. Even the social, political, and religious systems have been altered to a considerable extent. The few novels of the study with contemporary settings show these changes in Indian life but a far greater number of novels keep alive the stereotype of the Indian of the past.

In summary the 1960 novels as well as the 1930 novels continued for the most part the traditional dual and contradictory image of the Indian--the dirty, drunken, cruel, and warring

savage as well as the glorified, noble but naive native. Both images are stereotyped; neither image describes real human-like characters. Strangely enough in books where there are only Indian characters the Indian philosophy of life is presented with greater understanding and appreciation. However, when the Indian and white civilizations come in contact, not as much appreciation of the Indian way of life is allowed. Our conclusion is that value weighting of the Indian image remains about what it was in the 1930 books.

On the basis of the results of this study the following recommendations for action are suggested:

1. Novels, as well as the social study textbooks, should be evaluated for their possible negative influences, e.g., the development of prejudice and inaccuracies of information.

2. Authors and publishers should consider providing carefully researched, accurate fictional materials which portray the Indians living and working with Anglo-Americans in the dominant culture in a contemporary setting. Authors should avoid occupational stereotypes as well as the stereotypes of the physical appearance and dress of Indians. The misleading overgeneralizations concerning the housing, food, customs, and religion of

Indians should be avoided. The description of the Indian peoples as tribes of considerable variety should be emphasized. Degrading descriptions of the American Indian should not be utilized whether by use of such words as "savage" or by implication and innuendo. Many American Indians have made significant contributions to the western world. These should be recognized but at the same time those Indians who have chosen to cling to old traditions should be respected.

3. The history and culture of the Indian should be described in a developmental sense. The American Indian has not disappeared. It is true that some tribes are extinct, however, changes for today's Indians have come about and their native societies and social mores continue to exist within the American contemporary scene.

When white and Indian conflicts are described, the causes, the historical background should be made clear to the adolescent reader. The fights over lands too often show Indians trying to drive out the white men without making the reader aware of the Indians basic legal rights. Indian land ownership should not be treated as though they did not in fact own the land for historic and current litigation proves the contrary. The Indians have been blamed for the conflicts, the massacres and hostility but the fact

that these were brought on by white intrusion, invasion, and harassment is seldom mentioned in adolescent fiction.

The facts should be given about the treatment of Indians by missionaries and gold miners as well as homesteaders. The feudal slave labor system of the missions did exist. The attempted genocide of the Indians during the gold rush is one of the inglorious chapters of American history.

The Indian leaders of today demand that their peoples be accurately described: where the Indians are, what reservations and communities they occupy, what the economic situation is, and what educational and political conditions they are subjected to.

Indian cultures have contributed much to our present American culture. We have only to consider in addition to many of our staple foods, the names of cities and states across the United States as well as our holiday, Thanksgiving. Nonmaterial native contributions include Indian religious beliefs, the yearning for knowledge and a philosophy that improve upon that of many twentieth century white Americans. In this era of confusion and disillusionment, the Indian has much to contribute to the thinking of young people. Indians were the first environmentalists out of reverent respect for Nature. The contemporary push to keep up with the Jones' two cars, snowmobiles, motor cycles, that is money, prestige, material things, was not a part of the Indian ideal of a successful life. The desperate ambition to get ahead and make

money has disturbed many young people of today and some have attempted to find a more simple life.

Implications and innuendos of Indian practices and customs should be avoided. Readers want facts. Accurate, objective data should represent the Indian life, culture and history. Improper, invidious comparisons of Indian life and modern western life should be avoided. This is unfair to Indians who lived in a society of their own making with accepted and well developed complex cultures as the standard for their behavior and customs.

4. As a last point of recommendation, authors should consider the use of more three dimensional feminine Indian heroines. The most common stereotype of the Indian woman is based on the story of Pocohantas. Indian stereotyped males may be cruel and savage but the beautiful Indian princess that he wins is such that all white men desire.

The American Indian has always furnished inspiration and characters for the writers of American literature from Cooper to William Faulkner. Unfortunately many of these writers have helped to propagandize and to make whites comfortable with a certain image of the Native Americans. It is time for writers and publishers to work to dispel the stereotypes and generalizations about the American Indian.

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